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A SOLEMN WARNING

by Felix Morley

The cold-blooded murders of Count Bernadotte and Colonel Serot in Jerusalem, by gunmen in Jewish uniforms, is more than a horrible crime and more than a calculated blow to the prestige of the United Nations. It is also a solemn warning to those Americans who unconsciously helped to set the stage for that appalling outrage.

When the Nazi persecutions of the Jews began, the average American Gentile showed his sympathy by unusual thoughtfulness in regard to Jewish susceptibilities. Spontaneously, people took care to avoid expressions which could possibly be regarded as having a racial bias. Everyone knows that this is no longer the case. Everyone is uneasily aware of the bitter anti-Semitism which is now likely to crop up at any gathering, in any strata of society, when no Jews are present.

This anti-Semitism, which is far more pronounced in America than was the case before the war, is aggravated, if not produced, by Semitism. We may define Semitism as the constant effort of a large number of Jews to assert themselves as Jews; to demand consideration not for their worth and amiability as individuals but solely because they happen to belong to a race which has certainly never suffered serious persecution in the United States. This aggressiveness of the Jew, as Jew, is Semitism. Of course it gives strength to anti-Semitism.

The thoughtful Gentile, aware of the inflammable character of racial animosities, does what he can to mitigate this anti-Semitism. He understands the psychology of the situation and, up to a point, generous allowance for Jewish susceptibilities is made. But when the well-meaning Gentile tries to get back on the old basis of give-and-take with his personal Jewish friends, he is apt to meet frustration. Some of them have changed; they no longer seem normal Americans; they have become Semitic.

Fortunately, there are still many Americans of Jewish blood who themselves realize the danger in this change, and who are doing all they can to keep it from going further. These Jews are not servile, or un-Jewish in any fundamental. They expect to be received in any company

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on their own merits and with very few exceptions they are so received. But the Jews who regard themselves as Americans first, and Jews afterwards, appear to be fighting a losing battle. If so it is a tragedy -- for everyone concerned.

II

As an individual characteristic Semitism is no more objectionable than any other assertive racial or religious affiliation. But Semitism is arousing resentment because it has been carefully organized and even promoted. Of course those who suffer most from this are the Jews themselves. Many who once were scarcely conscious of their Jewishness -- and who were never thought of by their Gentile friends as Jews -- have been virtually blackmailed into Semitism.

In respect to individuals, these racial pressure tactics are perhaps not very serious. But taken collectively, in the large number of cases which can undoubtedly be numbered for the country as a whole, the matter is far from amusing. It amounts to a concerted and highly profitable effort to keep a very large number of Americans from putting national interests ahead of what a small minority has decided to define as racial interests. It is, indeed, an emotionalized indoctrination of racism as vicious as, and in all fundamentals akin to, the Nazi practices before Hitler came to power.

During the war this unwholesome practice made headway unchallenged. The Jews of Central Europe had been abominably persecuted. There was no doubt of that. If the Jews of Central Europe had been persecuted, those in America might also be endangered. Therefore -- by a syllogism more emotional than logical -- anybody who criticized any Jew on any subject must be a Nazi sympathizer! On this irrational basis organizations like the Anti-Defamation League prospered, and did some defaming on their own. And because of this organized Semitism, unorganized anti-Semitism grew.

As a domestic problem, this was disagreeable. But, with the overthrow of the Nazis, Semitism would logically have faded. Anti-Semitism would happily have faded with it -- if Zionism had not flared up. And men whisper -- perhaps falsely -- that one reason for the virulence of Zionism is that its underlying idealism has been exploited.

III

From the viewpoint of the average well-meaning American the question of an independent Jewish State in Palestine is one of a score of delicate international problems which he would like to see settled in

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accordance with the principles of justice, but which he recognizes to be dangerously explosive. Therefore, having plenty of tough problems nearer home, the average American is wisely inclined to concentrate on matters where his intervention is more likely to do good than harm.

That is far from being the attitude of the Semites in our midst. They maintain -- vociferously -- that there is only one side to the Palestine question. The Arabs -- in their opinion -- have no case. Any American who dares to suggest the contrary is smeared with Arabian oil. Jews who mistrust Zionism -- and many do -- are told in no uncertain language to shut up. As for the British -- under Zionist pressure they have practically replaced the Nazis as a target for Semitic objurgation. Surrender of the Palestine Mandate and withdrawal of troops has in no way saved the English Government and people from attacks which are sardonically reminiscent of Dr. Goebbels at his worst.

I have before me a "Boycott Bulletin" just issued by a New York Jewish organization which with unconscious humor calls itself the "Sons of Liberty". These characters urge me to demonstrate my Americanism by refusing to purchase or patronize any British product -- from Lipton's tea to the new movie version of "Hamlet". I am warned not to fly on B. O. A. C. planes, nor to "send goods" via Cunard-White Star. And the pay off, for my Jewish fellow-Americans, comes in this line: "Don't Patronize Any Store That Sells British Goods."

The average citizen is likely to be puzzled by this curious document, which asks for volunteers to picket British Consulates and requests contributions "to mobilize American public opinion for the boycott". It can certainly be called un-American, since a part of our bipartisan foreign policy is at present practically to subsidize British exports to this country. And the propaganda further seems nonsensical, since the British Government has now washed its hands of directive responsibility in Palestine; whatever its blunders from the Balfour Declaration on.

But anyone who has observed the policy of the extremists in the Zionist movement will see a clear-cut purpose behind this boycott movement. There are Zionist imperialists with very large ambitions in the Near East. They are already on record in favor of conquering the Arab kingdom of Trans-Jordan. With this country and other Arab States the British have treaties of alliance. So simple Americans are asked to "hit the British Government where it hurts". They are urged to pressure that Government -- as our own Government has been pressured -- into a support of fanatical Zionism.

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In all this there is something which at first glance seems sadly ironic. There is more than a little reason to believe that except for a smooth-working combination of Anglophile and Semitic influences the American people would have sat the last war out. It is becoming difficult to argue that if we had done so conditions would have been any worse than they are today. At any rate, until Germany was destroyed, the English and Semitic influences in this country worked amicably together. Perhaps they were also working for the best interests of America; perhaps not.

Now they have fallen out, with the result that our Semites denounce the British while our Anglophiles, rather more subtly, are beginning to find excuses for anti-Semitism. At a glance that may seem a little comic. But there is much more tragedy than comedy in the picture.

The Communists, with a quick eye for troubled waters, are busily exploiting the situation. One has only to examine the official organ of American Communism -- the New York Daily Worker -- to realize that the present Party line is to support extremist Zionism, especially when it pillories the British as enemies of mankind. Of course, that line may change at any minute. The Kremlin has little personal love for those wealthy American Jews who have provided Zionism with the sinews of war. But a change in the Communist Party line unfortunately will not of itself diminish the anti-Semitism which has been provoked.

To quote George Washington's Farewell Address is perhaps to run the risk of being condemned as isolationist. But, fortunately, that risk lessens as the consequences of our global meddling become more horribly apparent to all. And as the tide turns, the wisdom of the Farewell Address begins to emerge again -- like the firm rock of national foundation which it is:

> "Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence -- I conjure you to believe me fellow-citizens -- the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."

A great man -- in the person of Count Bernadotte -- has given his life to prove again the damage which Americans unwittingly accomplish when they light-heartedly promote and participate in the feuds of foreigners. His sacrifice will not have been in vain if it serves to warn and restrain those American Jews who strangely seem to wish to be regarded as half foreign. They must begin to realize that there is no compelling reason for considering an Israeli-American with any more affection than is extended to any other shrill-voiced hyphenate.

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Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events September 22, 1948

SEP 28 1948

By Frank C. Hanighen

The Republican high command has decided not to raise the ghost of Franklin D. Roosevelt during the campaign. According to reliable reports from New York, Governor Dewey will refrain from attacking Roosevelt personally, and from assailing the late President's domestic and foreign policies. Delicacy has little to do with this decision. The theory is that a great many voters resent criticism of F. D. R. and his policies. The Dewey strategy board, therefore, believes that such voters should not be alienated by some painful reminders. Whether or not the lower echelons of the Dewey battle order will be directly discouraged from disseminating anti-Roosevelt literature may be another matter. But the national "Party line" is to avoid offending voters who still cling to what remains of the Roosevelt myth.

This development has stirred no little discussion in the Capital. Even those who temperamentally dislike the decision concede that it may prove very smart politics, with rewards at the polls. There are others, however, who wonder if it will turn out to be quite so smart. One opinion is that a wave of disillusion with Roosevelt is sweeping the country. Is not the Governor's policy, it is asked, rather provincial in inspiration, too much influenced by the atmosphere of New York, where most of the die-hard Rooseveltians live? Outside of New York, it is suggested, sentiment is quite different. Straight-from-the-shoulder criticism of the record of 16 years may provide the dynamic needed to offset the much-feared "overconfidence" in Republican ranks. Valid or not, these objections are being made.

Maybe Dewey is right in this decision; maybe not. But what does disturb some GOP militants is evidence suggesting that the "hands-off-Roosevelt" policy is being imposed on the lower echelons. For instance, one of the most popular Republican pamphlets during the past year has been the Veterans' Case Against the Democrat-New Deal. Its principal thesis was that the veteran after fighting a war returned to find that Roosevelt had made concessions to Russia which betrayed what he had fought for. The emphasis was very much on Roosevelt's responsibility. Today, many Party workers throughout the country who have applied to National Headquarters for copies to distribute have discovered that there are none available. It is learned that the pamphlet has been allowed to go out of print. Is this merely an accident, or is it a considered implementation of the new "Party line"?

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Political Briefs ---- We have received from well-informed sources the following forecast of the Presidential vote in South Carolina: Truman -- 11 per cent; Dewey -- 20 per cent; Thurmond the remainder. It is, of course, about as much of a surprise that South Carolina should go States' Rights as that the Dutch should carry Holland. But, the fact that in so traditionally Democratic a stronghold the Republican candidate should be slated to outstrip the regular Democratic candidate is indeed suggestive. The States' Rights Party spokesmen boast that the real fight in the South is between Thurmond and Dewey. Perhaps, that is more than a boast.

---- Some observers in the Capital increasingly doubt that Dewey, if elected, will name John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State. This feeling does not arise from any information that the Governor has cooled towards Dulles. Nor is it believed that any developments in recent months have made him less eligible in Dewey's eyes. The doubt springs from realistic political considerations.

It would be surprising, say these observers, if Dewey should place expertness in foreign affairs ahead of definite advantages in domestic politics. It is

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recalled that the very politically-minded Roosevelt chose Cordell Hull, not for knowledge of foreign affairs, but for the Tennessean's ability to "swing" the Southern bloc on Capitol Hill behind Roosevelt policies. And so, it is argued, Dewey will come to realize that Dulles can sway no region nor pressure group; and he will seek some other figure, for the post of Secretary of State, who would contribute more to his Administration's political capital. At this point, the calculations stop. Although "trial balloons" have been launched in the press in behalf of some individuals, it is considered premature to speculate as to who the "figure" would be.

---- Prudent observers, indeed, hesitate to forecast definitely any Cabinet appointments at this time. However, it is noticeable that disinterested speculation as to the future Attorney General turns rather frequently on Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan. Ferguson came to the Senate billed as an able and fearless prosecuting attorney. His performances in the Pearl Harbor investigation and in the present loyalty probe have confirmed this description. But, over and above his ability, looms the fact that he hails from the Middle West. There are too many reputed Dewey favorites for the Cabinet who are Easterners; and geographical considerations can hardly fail to influence Dewey in assembling a Cabinet.

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General Clay's crusade to stop dismantling (reported on September 1) seems to have resulted in a tougher attitude on the part of the State Department. An AP dispatch from London (September 21) says: "The United States was reported today to be insisting upon curtailment of the Western Power program for dismantling German industries. Diplomatic officials said Secretary of State Marshall has rejected Foreign Secretary Bevin's protests against the American proposal [of several weeks ago]. Marshall, they said, did so in a personal letter which Bevin received three days ago." Another AP wire on the same day from Paris threw more light on this development: "London dispatches said it was reported reliably there that Marshall would take up with Bevin [presumably in Paris] the question of curtailing the program for dismantling German industries for reparations. Diplomatic officials in London said the United States is insisting on reducing the program, in line with the ideas of Paul Hoffman, European Recovery Administrator."

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One of the best kept secrets during the past week was the fact that the President of the Bank of Finland, Sakari Tuomioja, has been in the capital negotiating for a loan. He came to Washington last week seeking financial assistance in the reported amount of $40 million to underwrite the purchase of industrial and railroad equipment. Locomotives for broad-gauge tracks are desired; and this raises the question whether these locomotives might eventually come into the hands of the Russians (Russian tracks are broad-gauge). The answer is sought in the present political condition of Finland.

The gallant little Republic has been waging a by no means unsuccessful fight to keep its sovereignty despite classic Russian efforts to the contrary. During the summer a Cabinet shuffle dealt a blow to the power and prestige of Finnish Communists and fellow travellers, already suffering from reverses in the early summer elections. Various reliable reports from Helsinki claim that Finnish Army and security forces have remained free from Communist control and could be relied upon by democratic elements in case of an attempted Communist coup. In any case, Russia at present seems to have no kidney for immediate trouble with the Finns.

Finally, the truly heroic exertions of the Finnish people have lightened the burden of the originally crushing indemnities extorted by Moscow. Finnish sources say that indemnity payments, at first representing about 40 per cent of all exports,

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have now fallen to about 15 per cent. Finland has succeeded in paying off about half of the $300 million indemnity and Russia has remitted a part of the remainder. In view of this not unfavorable picture, both State and Defense Departments in Washington reportedly look with favor on Mr. Tuomioja's mission and a loan (perhaps less than the requested amount) may well be approved.

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The Madrid newspaper La Tarde comments on the Berlin crisis: "It is said that when Queen Isabel la Catolica was still a young girl, led and guided by the nobles . . . she got tired one day of the excessive cleverness of Cardinal Carrillo, and became very angry. She announced that when the Cardinal appeared she was going to say terrible things to him. Finally he came. She advanced on him in a very determined manner, and in a soft voice said merely: 'Cardinal, for Heaven's Sake!' We are very much afraid that something of the sort is going to happen in the case of the Western Powers and Stalin. A spokesman -- we wish somebody would tell us some day just what a spokesman is -- a spokesman of the Foreign Office said yesterday, as angry as Queen Isabel, that the Western Powers are tired of Stalin's double-dealing. It is also said that they are going to say this-and-that to the Georgian dictator whenever they meet up with him.

"It is quite possible that the intention does exist, and that someone actually did strike the table with his fist till the inkstand jumped. It is even possible that somebody used the word 'ultimatum' with enough emphasis to be believed. All is possible, because it is all justified. But Russia does not get frightened. On the contrary, she swaggers, threatens, and does not care to give back the ships the U.S. lent her, not to mention other symptoms she presents of incurable knavishness. . . . Moscow has to get rid of the thorn of the great anti-Communist demonstration in Berlin. She will try to do so with all possible theatrics, and no less than the implantation of Communism in the unhappy German Capital is now being announced. November will come without the Anglo-Saxon Powers doing anything but get very angry, only to pacify the wild beast afterwards with a very well-behaved 'For Heaven's Sake'."

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General J. F. C. Fuller in Cavalcade (London) contributes to the current controversy about the genesis of our troubles in Berlin:

"After Casablanca the war lost all sanity and entered upon its annihilative course. Campaign followed campaign until General Eisenhower crossed the Rhine and in one of the greatest military operations trapped 325,000 Germans in the Ruhr. The road to Berlin was thus opened, and Eisenhower could have marched on and into the German capital before the Russians could get there. Field Marshal Montgomery wanted him to do so. Then why did he not do it?" (The British monthly The Patriot commenting on the Fuller article, says that General Eisenhower in his report stated that he considered Berlin no longer represented a military objective of major importance and that he need not take into account political considerations.)

Fuller goes on: "Bearing in mind that war is a political instrument, if at the eleventh hour of a war political considerations are less important than military factors . . . when are they more important? Thus it came about that Germany as well as Hitler was annihilated, and the balance of power in Europe gratuitously handed to the Russians, who were not only allowed to occupy Berlin first, but to push their eastern frontier up to the Elbe. Equally extraordinary, although in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement, Berlin was partitioned between the four victorious Powers, no guarantee was sought by America, France, and ourselves to assure safe communications leading from west of the Elbe to Berlin. In short, the Western Allies built their own trap and walked into it; hence the present trouble."

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Book Events

The Roosevelt Myth, by John T. Flynn. New York: Devin-Adair. $3.50. Reviewed by John Chamberlain.

John T. Flynn's The Roosevelt Myth has been hacked to pieces by some reviewers who resent his cool, arms-length treatment of its subject, but actually it is merely an objective return to the earlier view of Roosevelt that one may find in such books as Mauritz Hallgren's The Gay Reformer. The truth is, says Mr. Flynn, that Franklin Roosevelt was a man who had little grasp of economics, no knowledge of money, no particular social philosophy, and no basic convictions about international organization. What he did have was a consummate grasp of how to put the greatest number of pressure groups into the political bag of the Democratic Party. Mr. Flynn says all this with a great deal of unheated documentation, and with a few minor errors when it comes to spelling names. Why, then, the anger at what he has done?

The answer, in part, is that people can't easily own up to having been played for suckers. They don't deny Mr. Flynn's facts; indeed, Mr. Flynn has taken his most damaging evidence from Frances Perkins' The Roosevelt I Knew, Henry Morgenthau's Collier's articles, Ross T. McIntire's White House Physician, Edward J. Flynn's You're the Boss, Harry Hopkins' Secret Papers and other memoirs by the faithful. The view that Roosevelt knew virtually nothing about economics may be found in Miss Perkins' friendly work; the details on how Roosevelt set the gold price, which sound like something out of musical comedy, may be discovered in Mr. Morgenthau's papers. Ross McIntire says, with some understandable circumlocution, that Roosevelt wasn't up to giving eight hours a day to the job of being President after a sickness in late 1943. But even though Roosevelt jumped from inconsistency to inconsistency in his domestic policies, and from extreme isolationism to the curious belief that one could base a foreign policy on complete and utter trust in Stalin's good intentions, the Roosevelt myrmidons still insist that nothing derogatory should be extracted from the record or from the various memoirs by idolators. They still insist that he was a great man, second only to Jefferson in the history of his Party.

The reason for this insistence is that Roosevelt had an unexampled ability to let himself be used by any group in Society that seemed to be riding the Wave of the Future. If you can manage to head every procession for thirteen long years you must seem great to your contemporaries. Mr. Flynn is indefatigable in chronicling the story of how pressure group after pressure group, including the Communist Party, worked through Roosevelt to gain ends that were often mutually exclusive. He does it dead pan, without much charity; and it is the tone that hurts.

As Mr. Flynn says, the efforts of the various pressure groups to extract eternal security from a vast Roosevelt cornucopia have led to the bewilderment and insecurity of 1948. The purchasing power of the U. S. dollar has diminished by half. Where once there was a balance of power in Europe and Asia, today Russia broods like a sinister monolith over both continents of the Old World. It could be argued that no man could have prevented all this from coming to pass. But the point about Roosevelt, as Mr. Flynn sees it, is that the "gay reformer" didn't even try to save us from ourselves. It takes a man with a definite economic, social and international philosophy to lead a people; Roosevelt, having no basic convictions, could only follow the herd. He did buck a nation up in 1933, he did have good ideas about conservation. Mr. Flynn might have given him more credit for such items. But for the most part Mr. Flynn's attack on the "myth" will withstand the critical eye of history.

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